

3 Protecting the Amazon and Its People

The Role of Civil Society in the Local Effectiveness of Transnational Partnerships

Livio Silva-Muller and Moira V. Faul

Introduction

The job of protecting the environment is shared between the state and society under Brazil's 1988 Constitution (1988, Art. 225). Various legal mechanisms were set up to ensure this joint responsibility, including multistakeholder councils at federal, state, and local levels, as well as different financial mechanisms and information sharing tools. This obligation translated into numerous partnerships, ranging from localized and informal, to national and formal. At the same time, partnerships have gained prominence as a mode of transnational governance in international settings.

Partnerships are defined as voluntary agreements among public and a variety of private actors on specific governance objectives and the means to advance them (Andonova 2017). The partnership literature has effectively documented this new mode of governance, showing what partnerships are and why they emerge (Andonova 2017); why and how design matters (Beisheim and Liese 2014); and how large samples of partnerships vary, for example, across issue areas, functions, and participation (Westerwinter 2019). What remains under-studied are partnership complexes comprised of multiple, partially overlapping partnerships that span transnational, federal, state, and local levels, such as that found in the environmental governance of Brazil. This chapter addresses this gap by examining how the multitude of global, federal, state, and local-level partnerships, policies and actors play out on the ground over time as they seek to contribute to shared partnership objectives; in this case environmental and social protection in the Brazilian Amazon. Specifically, this chapter reports on an inductive study of a sustainable development reserve, which revealed the important contributions of civil society actors to transnational partnership effectiveness at the local level.¹ Our analyses reflect the increasing participation of civil society organizations in policy processes, as well as the capacity of the Brazilian state to engage proactively in environmental policy (Andonova 2014); such a policy, Andonova argues, would have been unimaginable a decade earlier, in the times of strong claims to the right to develop. Based on our empirical analysis, we argue that civil society actors behave as partnership entrepreneurs to enable horizontal and vertical collaboration inside partnerships (Pathway 3 in the analytical framework

offered in Chapter 1) and also between transnational, federal, state and local level partnerships (Pathway 5), in ways that create value for target populations (Pathway 4) and partners (Pathway 2) and further the achievement of partnership goals (Pathway 1).

We reveal the ways in which policies and transnational partnerships to end deforestation have increased in complexity over time; and how civil society actors instigate, broker, and navigate complex environmental governance in the Brazilian Amazon. First, partnerships are established to fill governance and funding shortfalls; their establishment then exposes remaining gaps which civil society actors seek to fill by instigating and brokering new partnerships. Second, civil society actors (mainly NGOs and INGOs, and one foundation) connect the multiple levels in which other partners function. Civil society actors are not tied to one level; they move between transnational, federal, state and local levels. Partnerships are touted as being essentially more agile forms of governance; our findings suggest that this agility is enacted by civil society actors through their initiatives and activities to coordinate within and across partnerships. Finally, civil society actors create value through horizontal coordination between actors and partners at the local level, and through vertical coordination across transnational, federal, state, and local levels. Overall, these findings indicate that, in the protection of the Amazon rainforest, local civil society actors act in entrepreneurial ways to ensure that transnational partnerships can effectively achieve their goals at the local level in the Brazilian Amazon.

After a brief description of our empirical site (Sustainable Development Reserve (RDS) Uatumã) and our inductive methodology, we present our analysis of the increasing complexity of the partnership space for the protection of the Brazilian Amazon over time, revealing how entrepreneurial civil society actors have contributed to the instigation and effectiveness of transnational partnerships at local, state, federal and transnational levels. We then elaborate the ways in which civil society actors activate and organize vertical and horizontal relationships and activities within the multiple partnerships they have been instrumental in establishing. Our conclusion details the contributions of this chapter to this volume's analytical framework and to the broader literature.

Empirical Site and Methodology

Our empirical site is the Sustainable Development Reserve of Uatumã (RDS Uatumã), an area of 424,430 hectares in the northern state of Amazonas (Figure 3.1). RDS Uatumã is home to around 1,300 river dwellers, a so-called "traditional population," who practice small-scale fishing and farming. The selection of RDS Uatumã was based on its participation in numerous partnerships, national and transnational. Various institutions and regulations have shaped the existence of this Sustainable Development Reserve, from global environmental legislation and transnational partnerships to national and state-level legislation and partnerships. The majority of these relied on NGO actions for their creation and coordination, as well as their continued relevance and impacts. RDS Uatumã

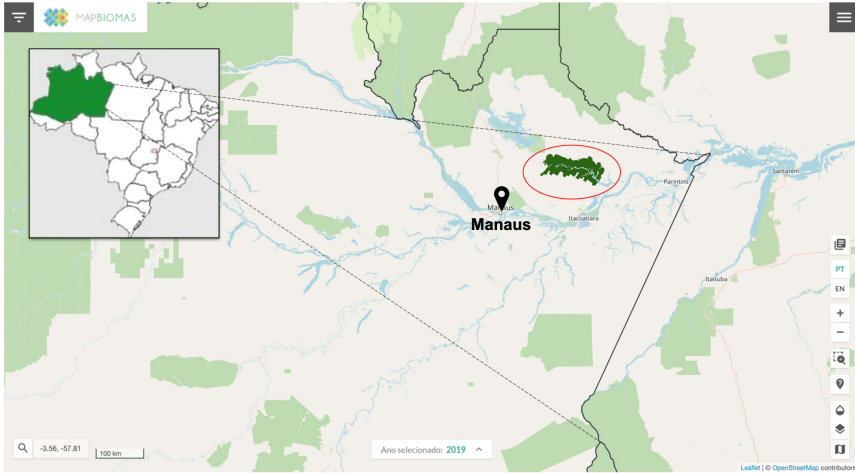


Figure 3.1 RDS Uatumã in Brazil. Source: Reproduced from MapBiomias Project (2020).

therefore constitutes an empirically interesting site to examine how this environmental governance plays out and how state and civil society actors create and navigate it. In addition, Uatumã has received little research attention and partners welcomed our research request.

Examining how multiple transnational partnerships play out at international, federal, state, and local levels entails a methodological shift to address this degree of complexity. As transnational partnerships are implemented at the local level, they become embedded in that location's political and social realities. The set of actors and histories that turn out to be relevant cannot easily be identified beforehand. For this reason, we adopt an inductive approach in which data collection and analysis are entangled and influence further rounds of collection and analysis. Concretely, this means that crucial actors were identified by participant observation and documentary analysis, which then informed our choices of additional interviewees. Therefore, the full partnership and institutional complex is wider than the one we present, meaning that different configurations of local, national and transnational partnerships may be identified in different localities or at different times. The inclusion of some organizations was more obvious than others. For instance, ARPA and Amazon Fund logos appear in RDS Uatumã's official signs and on boats and buildings; others were surfaced in interviews with key actors and participant observations. We do not claim that RDS Uatumã is a representative protected area, but the multiple overlapping partnerships that are present there reflect the reality of many other protected areas in the Brazilian Amazon. In Amazonas State alone, there are at least eight other protected areas with the same partnership configurations that we identified in RDS Uatumã. Thus, our focus is on identifying the pathways to effectiveness of the partnership complex around RDS Uatumã, which may also help identify

elements for future research to understand why other cases work similarly or differently (Small 2009).

Empirically, the findings we present are based on analyses of three types of data collected during the year 2019. First, we conducted 21 in-depth interviews with key informants. Our entry point to the local level were two NGOs: Fundação Amazonas Sustentável (FAS) and Instituto de Conservação e Desenvolvimento Sustentável da Amazônia (IDESAM). Subsequently, through purposive sampling, we identified additional interviewees in the federal and Amazonas State governments, as well as community representatives; interview guides were adapted according to the type of actor. Second, we conducted participant observations inside RDS Uatumã, in FAS' offices in Manaus, and visited four local communities and the state office. Various informal conversations and observations contributed to sense-testing our analyses and the arguments made in this chapter. Third, our analysis of partnership and project documents (both publicly available and privately shared by interlocutors) complements the ethnographic and interview information. Documents were analyzed from global, federal, state, and local levels, including agreements, the management plan of RDS Uatumã, and NGOs' lessons learned documents: these data were particularly important for triangulation and illustration. Data were collected in Portuguese by one of the co-authors, who is a native speaker, and then translated into English. We used two main analytical strategies. First, we sought to understand the broader field in which our case is sited using bipartite network analysis, and to illustrate the extent of organizations' overlapping memberships in the complex of partnerships that govern the Brazilian Amazon. The bulk of our case study analysis used inductive thematic coding to identify the roles played by different actors at and across different levels of this partnership complex.

Civil Society, Brazilian Environmental Governance, and Partnership Creation

Deforestation in the Amazon has multiple entangled causes, the majority of which are related to economic or social causes: land speculation and land grabs, global commodities markets, money laundering, logging, mining, roads, soybeans, cattle ranching, household dynamics, and population growth (Fearnside 2017). Over the past three decades, successive Brazilian governments have devised protection instruments that address these causes, and NGOs have been central to protection efforts on the ground in the Brazilian Amazon region. This section first presents relevant federal and state protection instruments, before describing NGOs' and foundations' efforts to initiate, design and mobilize transnational, federal and state partnerships to provide additional financing and coordination in order to achieve the goals of environmental and social protections of the rainforest and its inhabitants.

First, protected areas that address only environmental factors have existed for decades.² In the 1980s after years of grassroots campaigns, Brazilian forests gained legal recognition as sustainable use protected areas (Hecht and Cockburn 1990; Hochstetler and Keck 2007). In addition to environmental protection,

sustainable use protected areas also take into account the economic, social, and cultural rights of local populations. These populations are allowed to deforest for subsistence purposes in an environmentally sustainable way and may benefit from social assistance, such as education, health and welfare provisions. Protected areas were first created on a case-by-case basis, via decrees (Drummond, Franco and Silva 2010) until 2000, when the Brazilian Congress created the National System of Protected Areas (SNUC in Portuguese) which provides an overarching framework for all protected areas. The system divides protected areas into integral protection or sustainable use categories and regulates their creation. Once protected, land grabs and deforestation in these areas decrease, since potential appropriators cannot obtain land tenure. As of February 2019, sustainable use protected areas comprised over 70 percent of the total of 255 million hectares of protected areas in Brazil (Ministério do Meio Ambiente 2021).

The second cornerstone of Brazilian environmental governance consists of the environmental police of federal and state-level governments who are responsible for identifying and repressing attempts to deforest private and public areas, whether they are designated protected areas or not. With the support of remote sensing technologies, environmental police conduct logistically difficult raids to protect areas that are being deforested. These command-and-control policies were strengthened during the tenure of Brazil's Environmental Minister Marina Silva (2003–2008), when she hired over 2,000 new Ministry officials (Abers and Oliveira 2015), including more technical staff specialized in remote sensing (Rajão and Vurdubakis 2013). With deforestation rates reaching almost 25,000 km² per year by the beginning of the 2000s (INPE 2022), federal and state governments needed a substantial amount of funds to conduct more command-and-control operations; and to create and consolidate protected areas.

Due to concern about increasing deforestation and insufficient funds to address it, the NGO World Wildlife Fund International (WWF-I) mobilized a number of actors to broker the Amazon Regional Protected Area (ARPA) partnership, which was launched in 2001. This transnational partnership is jointly managed by actors from national and international public, private and voluntary sectors: the World Bank, WWF International, the Moore Foundation, the Brazilian Minister of the Environment, and a Brazilian NGO (Funbio), scientists and protected area managers. ARPA is financed by the Brazilian federal government alongside international bilateral, multilateral and foundation donors, and these funds are disbursed only to public actors to create and consolidate protected areas in the Brazilian Amazon. The Brazilian federal government has committed to increasing its contributions as international donor funds taper off by 2040. In total, 117 federally designated protected areas (including RDS Uatumã) amounting to 60,000,000 hectares have received funds from ARPA (GEF 2018).

Funbio (an NGO that specializes in managing transnational environmental funds) conducts the operational management of ARPA's payments and logistics. Funbio disburses funds from international partners to public sector actors when they meet protection targets (measured in thousands of hectares). At first, state-level protected areas could not receive ARPA funds, despite comprising

a substantial proportion of all protected areas in the Amazon region. In 2004, states in the Brazilian Amazon region successfully pressured the Ministry of the Environment to allow Funbio to channel ARPA funds to public sector actors working in state-designated protected areas,³ mainly to the managers who implement the RDS Uatumã Deliberative Council's management plan.⁴

While federal and state-level public sector actors were granted access to ARPA funds, local and national NGOs – who are central to environmental and social protection work in the Amazon region – were not.⁵ IPAM, a Brazilian NGO, working together with international NGOs within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) advocated for an international mechanism to compensate state and civil society actors for reduced deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon (IPAM 2008). In 2007, a second transnational partnership (the Amazon Fund) was created during the UNFCCC Conference of the Parties (COP-12 in Nairobi). This funding stream is based on IPAM's concept of compensated reduction, whereby countries that reduce deforestation below a determined level are rewarded (Santilli et al. 2005). The Amazon Fund uses funding provided by Norway, Germany and Petrobras⁶ to make non-reimbursable investments in prevention, monitoring, and combating deforestation, and promoting conservation and the sustainable use of the Amazon rainforest area (Marcovitch and Pinsky 2019). Brazilian NGOs, the federal government, state governments from the Amazon region, and scientists govern the Amazon Fund; no seats are reserved for donors (Norway, Germany and Petrobras). Unlike ARPA, the Amazon Fund finances protection projects inside and outside officially designated protected areas. The Fund manages around BRL 3.3 billion and had supported 103 projects by 2019. A substantial share of Amazon Fund projects (approximately 40 percent) is implemented by national NGOs, with the remainder aimed toward public federal and state-level environmental institutions. This fund was affected by the election of President Bolsonaro in 2018, and the fund is not making new disbursements until disagreements with his administration are resolved regarding both environmental and multistakeholder decision making in Brazil.

A third partnership (shown in white on Figure 3.2), the Amazonas State Policy Partnership (between the NGO Fundação Amazonas Sustentável (FAS), Amazonas State and Bradesco, a private bank), was enshrined in State Law 3135 in 2007. The partnership designated FAS as co-implementer of the policy alongside public sector actors including the state-level Secretary of the Environment and environmental police. It authorizes FAS to implement various projects that attempt to reduce greenhouse gas emissions or improve carbon sequestration by avoiding deforestation. While FAS remains the main implementer, this partnership also serves to facilitate further and deeper NGO work inside state-level sustainable use protected areas.⁷ NGO activities range from environmental education and ecosystem services valuation, to supporting sustainable livelihoods for residents. Financed by Bradesco, a national private bank, the partnership also invested BRL 20 million to implement payment for an ecosystem services scheme inside sustainable use protected areas in Amazonas State.

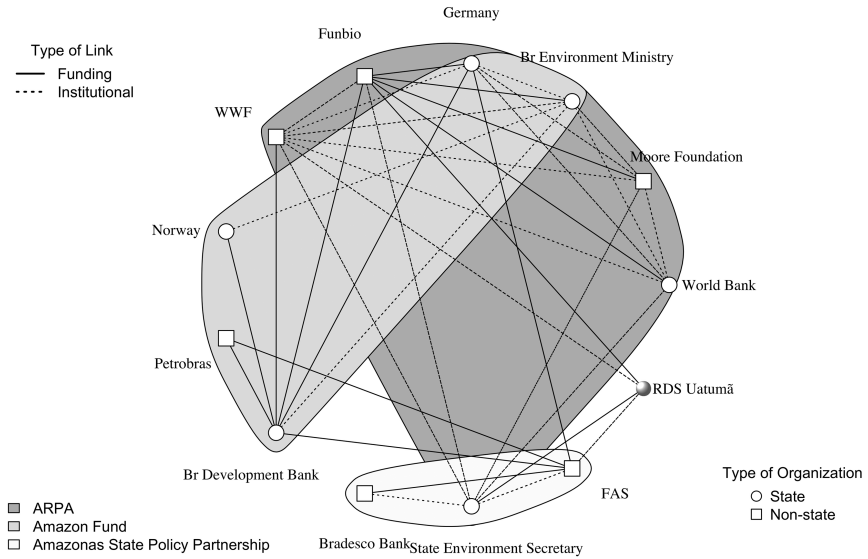


Figure 3.2 Actors’ shared membership in the Brazilian environmental governance system. Source: Authors.

There is a high level of overlap of different state and non-state actors involved in ARPA, the Amazon Fund and the Amazonas State Policy Partnership described above. Figure 3.2 depicts a bipartite network (Borgatti, Everett and Johnson 2013) constructed on the basis of shared membership of each of the three partnerships, that provides an illustration of the overlapping memberships and complexity of partners and partnerships in Brazilian environmental governance. RDS Uatumã, the sustainable development reserve that we use as our case study for the empirical analyses in this chapter, is outside the partnerships, but has financial ties to four of the actors in ARPA and the Amazonas State Policy Partnership, two of whom are NGOs (Funbio and FAS).

The Brazilian environmental governance system can thus be characterized as a complex of overlapping combinations of policies, partnerships, and partner organizations, both public and private, aimed at funding and implementing different but related goals and projects (including federal and state-level protected areas, federal and state-level environmental police, the transnational ARPA partnership, the regional Amazon Fund and the state-level Amazonas State Policy Partnership). In the remainder of the chapter, we reveal the ways in which NGOs have been instrumental in initiating and obtaining funds for transnational, federal, state and local-level partnerships; in developing (or advocating for the development of) additional mechanisms to fill shortfalls in protection; and in implementing social and environmental protection activities. Without these NGO-inspired and brokered partnerships and activities, financial and relational constraints would hinder

the consolidation of protected areas, impede federal and state-level environmental police activities, and diminish local education and livelihood schemes.

Civil Society Brokers Local Relationships to Create and Consolidate Social and Environmental Protections

Protected areas are not naturally occurring zones defined by historical or natural boundaries. Rather, to fulfil their environmental and social goals, these areas are delineated and defined in ways to make them – and their inhabitants – visible to external actors. This act of boundary setting may not reflect community or geographical identities as they are understood by the inhabitants themselves, which then requires additional local brokerage and coordination. In RDS Uatumã, civil society actors worked bilaterally with global actors to raise funds and render the protected area visible and amenable to support from the transnational partnerships we describe above. The same civil society actors that supported the reserve development are members of the transnational partnerships that the reserve subsequently benefited from.

RDS Uatumã was created in 2004 and comprises an area of 424,430 hectares. Around 400 families (1,500 individuals) reside along the Uatumã riverbank inside the reserve, and their livelihoods depend on subsistence from local water and land resources (RDS Uatumã Management Plan 2009). These families are spread across 20 different communities that are part of two municipalities, São Sebastião do Uatumã and Itapiranga. In terms of land, almost 60 percent of São Sebastião do Uatumã municipality lies inside the reserve, compared to 40 percent of Itapiranga (Instituto Socio Ambiental 2022). However, only a minority of the inhabitants of both municipalities live inside the reserve.

The region in which RDS Uatumã is found has a long history of environmental depredations with negative social and health consequences. In 1986, 300,000 hectares were flooded during the construction of the Balbina Hydroelectric dam (Fearnside 2019). This powerplant reduced residents' supply of fish from the river, triggering a humanitarian response that was organized with the unions since there was no official state or federal support to meet residents' livelihoods and nutrition needs.⁸ In 1996, the state conceded 450,000 hectares to the Precious Woods company for the extraction of timber for commercial purposes. In 1990, the federal government created the Biological Reserve of Uatumã to preserve the region's biodiversity, however local inhabitants were denied residency, driving them downriver.

In response to the negative social effects of these environmental protections,⁹ civil society actors (NGOs, residents and unions) organized to create a Sustainable Use Reserve, which pays more attention to affected populations (Pathway 4 of this volume's analytical framework). First, the designation of Sustainable Use Reserve renders the inhabitants of the reserve visible to external actors. In order to be protected, a series of socioeconomic and environmental studies about the area had to be conducted (RDS Uatumã Management Plan 2009). For the first time, the number of residents, their education level, and their health status were

taken into account.¹⁰ After designation as a protected area, specific public policies became applicable and operational (for example, payment for ecosystem services schemes, Special Credit Ratings, etc.). Additionally, the federal state included more RDS Uatumã residents within their cash-transfer policy;¹¹ since protected area status prohibits extraction for commercial purposes, residents need an income substitution mechanism.

Secondly, the change in status from ordinary citizens to residents of the protected area changed the dynamic between the municipalities and the residents; they became a particular constituency capable of rewarding or punishing municipal-level politicians in elections. This is not to say that they always homogeneously support the same causes, but this status differentiates them from other residents in the same municipalities and can have political consequences. The new mayor visits the reserve four times a year, and every month she organizes a boat to bring community leaders to the urban center of Itapiranga.

In the current administration of Itapiranga, the relationship has improved. The old administration was not so present, but it helped the communities a little bit. This year was the first trip of the mayor to the reserve, and from what we hear people saying, she has been more present. Of course, there are still many things missing, but at least she comes to Uatumã.

(Interview with senior NGO staff, RDS Uatumã, March 2019)

Protected area status engendered an influx of policies and actors, such that “after it became a protected area, people started coming here. Before, we were kind of forgotten by others.”¹² Thus, being designated a protected area rendered this area and its inhabitants visible to municipal, state and federal-level governments, and increased their perceived political salience.

Who would represent these newly visible communities? The governance system in which protected areas are embedded demands a single interlocutor between communities and external actors, thus designation as a protected area triggers the need to establish a Community Association. This was difficult in RDS Uatumã in which there is a large number of diverse and dispersed communities.¹³ Communities do not have a formal legal existence: for political representation, each community elects a community leader responsible for solving internal problems and channeling their demands to external actors.¹⁴ In addition to these community-level mechanisms, groups of communities are frequently aggregated into what are called poles (“*polos*” in Portuguese). One pole usually consists of 6 or 7 communities, which are geographically close to each other, but may not share cultural or other identity markers.

Outside the scope of the formal transnational partnerships, IDESAM (an NGO already working in the RDS Uatumã) sought funding from Germany and the Moore Foundation to broker collaboration between the communities and different levels of governance to solve this coordination problem (Pathway 3). The sustainable development reserve was created in 2004 with the support of

WWF-Brazil to undertake the environmental and social studies necessary for its creation. Between 2005 and 2008, IDESAM started to facilitate a series of participatory workshops with residents of the reserve and the Amazonas State. IDESAM and Amazonas State designed and created an association uniting all 20 communities: the Associação Agroextrativista das Comunidades da RDS Uatumã (hereafter the Community Association) (RDS Uatumã Management Plan 2009, p.148).

The Deliberative Council of RDS Uatumã, which writes the area's management plan, comprises 22 seats, half of which are held by civil society and the other half by public sector or government organizations. Brokered by IDESAM, the Community Association holds one seat on the Deliberative Council, and each pole holds a seat as well, totaling four seats for community representatives (Pathway 4). The other seven seats allocated to civil society are held by IDESAM and other regional and national associations. On the government side, two seats are held by municipalities with territory inside the reserve (São Sebastião do Uatumã and Itapiranga). A neighboring municipality (Presidente Figueiredo), which is also part of the older Biological Reserve of Uatumã, also holds a seat. Finally, Amazonas State holds a number of seats representing its environmental protection and research institutions, and environmental police.

The RDS Uatumã Deliberative Council elaborated a management plan that assigned rules of usage to zones within the protected area. Financial support for this process was provided by Germany and the Betty Moore Foundation, both of which are active in the partnerships described above (ARPA, Amazon Fund, Amazonas State Policy Partnership). Scientific support was provided by WWF-Brazil as well as IDESAM. The RDS Uatumã management plan, a 400-page document, took five years to negotiate, with IDESAM supporting the representation of community views.¹⁵ NGO representatives argue that by including the community in the decision making as partners, zoning decisions are more meaningful since zones are allocated according to the community's actual usage and needs (Pathways 2 and 4). In this way, IDESAM and community members developed a flexible zoning system with areas devoted to sustainable farming, game fishing, strict environmental protection and sustainable tourism (RDS Uatumã Management Plan 2009). The plan defines a clear pathway to implementation in order to achieve the overall objective of protecting the area: strengthening biodiversity and traditional ways of life (Pathway 1).

Through these processes, NGOs were instrumental in making, brokering and navigating the institutional complex of partnerships in the Brazilian Amazon's environmental and social protection. The Management Plan was brokered by NGOs, financially supported by transnational donors, and includes actors from other transnational, national and state-level partnerships in Brazilian environmental governance. Being designated as a sustainable development protected area opened up new partnership possibilities to RDS Uatumã. At the state level, Amazonas State included RDS Uatumã in the inaugural cohort of 16 protected areas covered by the Amazonas State Policy Partnership in 2008. As a result, Fundação Amazonas Sustentável (FAS), the national-level NGO responsible for

co-implementing the Amazonas State Policy Partnership, established a physical presence inside RDS Uatumã.

In addition, value is created for civil society partners in two ways. First, both NGOs operating in the protected area (FAS and IDESAM) received large amounts of money from the Amazon Fund to implement multiple projects related to the Deliberative Council’s management plan (Table 3.1).¹⁶ In 2011, RDS Uatumã became part of the ARPA program. Therefore, establishing local partnerships was needed to achieve the goals of the transnational partnership (Pathway 1), and then increased the resources available to NGO partners (Pathway 2) as well as the complexity of environmental governance in Brazil (Pathway 5). Secondly, membership of the Amazonas State Policy Partnership grants FAS legitimacy to mobilize the municipalities and show them ways to engage with the protected area. At the beginning of the current electoral cycle (2016), FAS presented their work to

Table 3.1 Amazon Fund Grants to NGOs working in RDS Uatumã

<i>Year</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
2009	Fundação Amazonas Sustentável (FAS)	BRL 19 M	Promote the containment of deforestation and improve the quality of life of traditional populations living in the protected areas of the state of Amazonas.
2016	Fundação Amazonas Sustentável (FAS)	BRL 31 M	Continue and expand the actions of the Bolsa Floresta Program in state protected areas in Amazonas State: (i) support the development of small enterprises and sustainable forestry; (ii) build capacity of leaders and strengthen local residents’ associations for the management of environmental, social and income-generating projects; (iii) systematize and disseminate contents, methods, lessons learned and innovative solutions; and (iv) implement public calls for proposals for small and medium income-generating projects in the areas surrounding the protected areas.
2018	Instituto de Conservação e Desenvolvimento Sustentável da Amazônia (IDESAM)	BRL 12 M	Support the strengthening of community forest management in Amazonas State by: (i) developing the Forest Cities platform to connect forest stakeholders and support timber production chains; and (ii) supporting sustainable production and commercialization of timber and vegetable oils.

Source: Amazon Fund (2021) Project Portfolio.

the executive and legislative branches of Itapiranga's municipal administration in a two-day event. Since then, FAS and municipal staff have worked closely on various occasions.

When the Amazonas State and the Association get together, the relationship with the municipalities becomes stronger. It changes a lot because we get to enter the municipal chambers through the associations. We support this. In the past, there was no openness with the city halls, today we have more voice in both municipalities because of the partnerships.

(Interview with NGO staff, RDS Uatumã, March 2019)

By going inside municipal assemblies and opening doors for collaboration, FAS makes its knowledge available to the municipality and mobilizes them to partnership (Pathways 2 and 3). Nevertheless, the NGOs' work extends beyond electoral cycles of municipalities and states: they have seen multiple elections, and several cycles of staff changes. Their presence in the area contributes to the accumulation and translation of practical knowledge and institutional memory related to the reality inside RDS Uatumã and its communities.

How Civil Society Actors Enhance Partnership Effectiveness for Sustainable Development

In the case of RDS Uatumã, in ways unparalleled by any other actor, NGOs instigated and co-designed transnational and local partnerships, and continue to broker and navigate the multiplicity of transnational, national and local partnerships that comprise Brazilian environmental governance. As a result, meager public finances are complemented by partnerships (such as ARPA, the Amazon Fund or the Amazonas State Policy Partnership) or public and private donors to those partnerships. NGOs connect partners horizontally inside each of the different levels at which these partnerships operate as well as vertically between the local, state, federal and global levels (Pathway 3) in ways that create value for the partners (Pathway 2) and advance the achievement of partnership objectives (Pathway 1) and deliver benefits for affected populations (Pathway 4) as we now detail.

Horizontal Ties

NGOs create value at the local level (inside RDS Uatumã) by working effectively with state-level civil servants and through disbursing partnership funds effectively to the protected area for environmental and social protection work. FAS and IDESAM staff work with the public sector manager of the protected area on a regular basis. The RDS Uatumã manager is very active, spending some 20 days a month in the area.¹⁷ This is unusual. Due to fiscal constraints, states usually hire one manager to cover many protected areas. For example, in Amazonas State, 12 managers oversee 42 protected areas amounting to over 18,000,000 hectares (Secretaria do Meio Ambiente do Estado do Amazonas 2018). ARPA delegates

responsibility to a protected area manager based on the way their funds are used to achieve the overarching goal, within an agreed project management matrix. Thus, the protected area manager's decisions matter in meaningfully using the funds they get from ARPA.¹⁸ The RDS Uatumã manager's relations with NGOs appear to help his decision making in the interests of the target population and ecosystem (Pathway 4). FAS also enables environmental protection in the protected area, using their own funds to pay directly for equipment for biodiversity monitoring, diesel for transportation,¹⁹ boats, docks, and other similar items. FAS' main activity is the implementation of a payment scheme in return for ecosystem services inside state-level protected areas, paying a small fee to inhabitants who do not deforest primary forest.²⁰ The program comprises a series of activities which include participatory workshops (where communities add qualitative character to existing quantitative data on deforestation and fires), local leadership building, as well as skills workshops to improve agricultural activities.

NGOs work in complementary ways toward achieving the twin goals of environmental and social protection in protected areas (Pathway 4). FAS uses funds from the Amazon Fund, the Amazonas State Policy Partnership, and the donors to these partnerships to deliver health and education projects (social development) within the environmental limits defined by the management plan of the protected area. For example, they implement an inter-communitarian educational program for children in RDS Uatumã, providing one of very few opportunities for children from different communities to come together. A few weekends every year, FAS brings children from different communities into a single location and conducts a variety of workshops on environmental education, theater and writing. One local teacher commented:

At first, I even wondered if it was good, but then through a school project, FAS saw the things in the school and started to talk to me more. After I noticed what they had developed, it helped me a lot in the classroom. Today the children want to learn to read because they don't want to be ashamed of themselves in front of the other communities. They see the children from the other communities reading and talking, and they are interested in doing the same. FAS has been involved in this project for four years.

(Interview with civil servant, RDS Uatumã, March 2019)

The teacher thus evaluated the effects of these inter-community activities as positive for the target population, motivating children to be more engaged in learning. Furthermore, a teacher from a state-level institution in one of the communities also appreciated FAS providing environmental education locally.²¹ These materials have been used extensively and would not have existed without FAS.

Complementary to these social protection schemes, IDESAM (who brokered the Community Association agreement) is mostly concerned with income-generating activities for the members of the reserve (economic development), focusing on creating and consolidating sustainable tourism in the area. Community members and the Community Association were initially uneasy about developing

sustainable tourism because of weak land tenure regimes.²² The Amazonas State System of Protected Areas stipulates that public land inside protected areas should be conceded to residents. Nevertheless, the residents of RDS Uatumã were only receiving temporary concession contracts. Without stronger land tenure arrangements, inhabitants of the reserve deemed any investment in tourism as too risky. IDESAM (a national NGO) used Amazonas Fund financing (state-level) to lead a strong collaboration between communities channeled through the Deliberative Council (local), resulting in the residents of Uatumã gaining collective rights over the land in 2014. Subsequently, an increase in community members building small hotels for eco-tourism took place, amounting to nine different locations inside RDS Uatumã and a seat in the Deliberative Council for representatives of the local tourism industry.²³ FAS thus complements state activities in collaboration with municipalities through different channels. In the absence of FAS and in the context of the limited municipal budget, activities of this nature would likely not take place. Thus FAS, with financial support from transnational and state-level partnerships, creates value for the local ecosystem and the target population (Pathways 2 and 4).

In RDS Uatumã, the role of FAS goes beyond complementing in certain realms. During fieldwork, we took part as a participant-observer in the meetings to organize the inter-communitarian Olympics. FAS staff invited community and municipality representatives to the FAS office inside the reserve, spending a full day facilitating participatory discussions to organize an Olympic Games “made by you; in your way.”²⁴ The topics under discussion included which community would host, what sports would be part of the games, and whether representation would be based on communities or poles. They then listed all the tasks necessary for the Olympics to take place and assigned an actor to each task. This included actors from the 20 communities, the two municipalities, state and FAS. An inter-community committee was formed to oversee and ensure coordination, after which FAS stepped back and let the committee manage a process over which they felt ownership due to the participatory process undertaken.

Vertical Ties

Spanning different layers of this complex, NGO actors provide vertical coordination and relationships and also produce and translate local level knowledge to other decision-making levels (Figure 3.3).

FAS operates at the local level in 16 different protected areas and can therefore accumulate knowledge on how to effectively implement sustainable development policies at the local level (Pathway 1). Importantly, there is a systematic and institutionalized effort to transform their experiences into knowledge products relevant to state, federal and transnational actors (Pathway 2). This happens through several channels. In the FAS Manaus office, there is a specific department with the mandate of consolidating field knowledge²⁵ and producing publications that define the lessons learned and challenges in the field (e.g., FAS 2017). Furthermore, at the state level, FAS has an active role in informing policies through the seats it

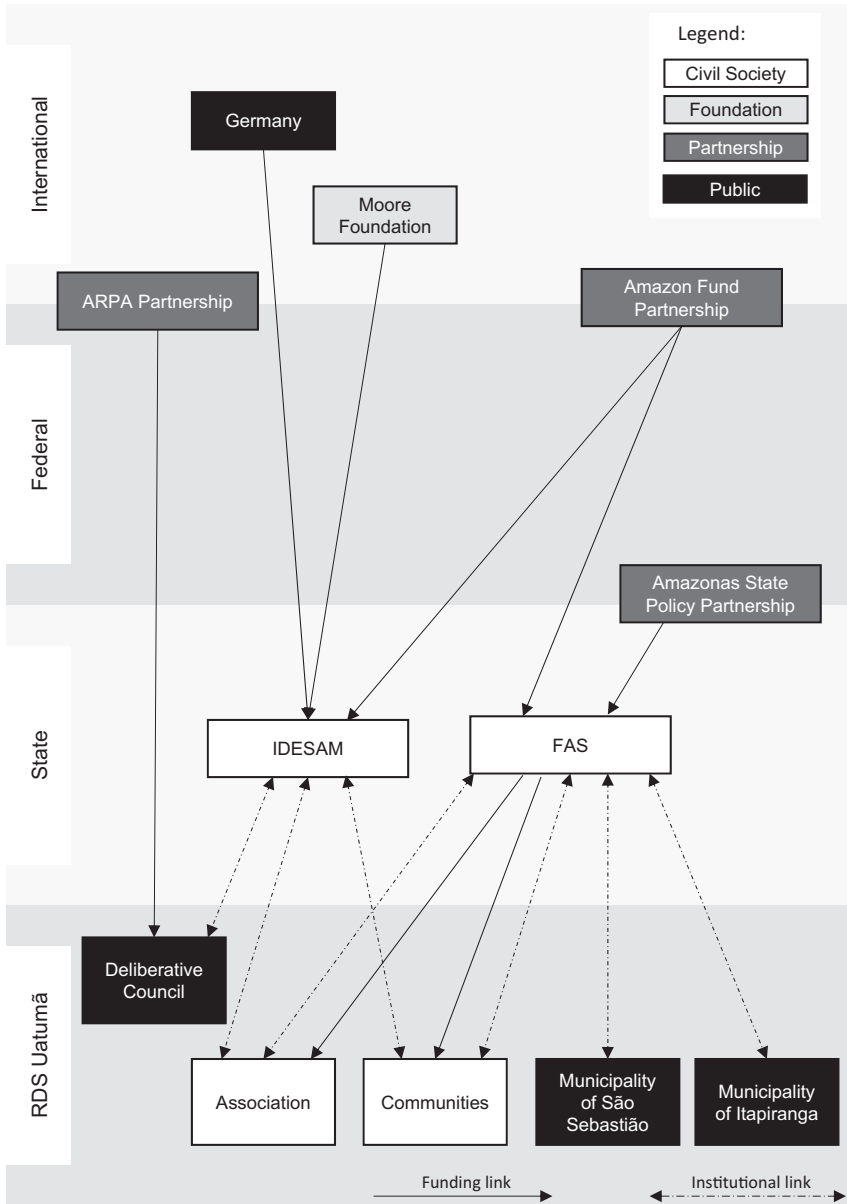


Figure 3.3 Vertical ties across levels of governance. Source: Authors.

holds in different working groups, e.g., the Working Group of Amazon Fire.²⁶ Third, FAS is responsible for the secretariat of the federal level policy working group, the Brazilian Climate Forum.²⁷ Finally, it also takes part in the global UN Sustainable Development Solution Network. Thus, the organization deliberately brokers knowledge from the field into state, federal and transnational decision-making fora (Pathway 5).

Both FAS and IDESAM contribute to social and environmental protection (Pathway 1) by responsibly drawing down funds from state, federal and transnational partnerships, and disbursing or using these funds at the local level (Pathway 2). First, IDESAM applied for transnational-level funds from Germany and the Moore Foundation. IDESAM then brokered the Association to facilitate local-level representation, writing the Management Plan together with WWF-Brazil, a national-level NGO. Second, both NGOs applied to the Amazon Fund, crafting and negotiating proposals that required initiative and technical capacity.²⁸ The funds are used to foster close collaboration (Pathway 3) with local communities and Deliberative Councils; state actors (the protected area manager or policy Working Groups); federal and transnational policy fora; and other NGOs with complementary contributions in one or many levels of governance.

NGOs' partnering relationships (Pathway 3) span across local, state, federal and transnational levels, enabling the translation of knowledge and knowledge products from the local to state, federal and transnational levels, as well as addressing power through successful advocacy efforts (for example, efforts to secure collective land rights). Thus, NGOs fulfil functions such as spanning boundaries (building relationships), acting as an intermediary (disseminating knowledge), and as brokers (building capacity as well as building relationships and disseminating knowledge) (Neal, Neal and Brutzman 2022).

This suggests that, in the case of RDS Uatumã, civil society actors undertake collaborative partnering activities (Pathway 3) that enable vertical coordination between transnational, federal and state partnerships and actors (Pathway 5), in ways that create value for target populations (Pathway 4) and partners (Pathway 2), and further the achievement of partnership goals (Pathway 1) in order to contribute to problem solving for sustainable development.

Conclusion

This chapter argues that civil society actors are critical in environmental governance in Brazil in four ways. First, NGOs initiate and strongly influence policy, develop transnational partnerships, and establish transnational and state-level funding structures that complement federal and state-level financing for environmental and social protection in the Amazon rainforest. Second, they advocate for and design new partnerships that could fill gaps in existing governance and funding schemes while ensuring complementarity at and across transnational, federal, state, and local levels. Third, NGOs work with actors at the local level in participatory ways, creating value within that level to serve target populations and the ecosystems in which they are embedded. Finally, NGOs work between

transnational, federal and state-level actors and partnerships, and across global, federal, state and local levels to effectively draw down financing in addition to brokering knowledge and addressing power imbalances from local to state, federal or transnational levels.

We build on existing accounts of state entrepreneurship in partnerships (Andonova 2017) to show how NGOs act as partnership entrepreneurs: they instigate and broker partnerships; ensure representation and voice for local communities; secure and spend funding on community and partnership priorities; and strategize on how to make the partnerships and their sustainability activities work. Overall, the case of RDS Uatumã demonstrates the importance of NGOs in enabling local communities and transnational partnerships to reach each other in ways that support local activities for sustainable development. Relatedly, it also shows how crucial transnational partnerships are for financing many domestically agreed objectives. In various stages of developing the partnership complex, NGOs and one foundation participated inside and outside formal partnerships to ensure that the overall system of partnerships could deliver effectively on global and federal environmental goals, and for local communities and ecosystems. These findings suggest that studying NGOs that work between several partnerships and across several levels, might reveal an important mechanism in furthering partnership goals and public policy or community objectives. Thus, our analysis contributes a sociological examination of how crisscrossing actors (in this case, NGOs) make bridges between previously unconnected groups (van Knippenberg and Schippers 2007).

The pathways to effectiveness in partnerships for the protection of the Brazilian Amazon rely on NGOs throughout the Brazilian environmental governance system. The goals of the transnational partnership to protect the Brazilian Amazon (Pathway 1) would not be achieved without the NGOs who use partnership resources to support protection activities in RDS Uatumã. Alongside federal and state enforcement of environmental protections in RDS Uatumã, NGOs also conduct the social and economic protection activities that are integral to the effective implementation of sustainable development reserve status. Moreover, NGOs are central to initiating and maintaining collaboration between partners, connecting local actors to each other and with the transnational partnership (Pathway 3). At the transnational level, WWF International gave impetus to ARPA while Funbio provided the financial apparatus to receive and allocate resources appropriately. Locally, IDESAM worked with communities to ensure that they were represented in collaborative decision-making bodies and that the management plan reflected their interests. FAS had a key role in mobilizing other partners (e.g., municipalities and communities), complementing public sector activities using funds they received from international mechanisms (e.g., educational and health activities), and making information meaningful between different levels of governance. In our study, NGOs also ensure the inclusion of local populations in decision-making structures and processes, with the intention that any consequences have a more positive impact (Pathway 4). Communities in RDS Uatumã derive value from the partnership

(Pathway 2) through representation in decision making for the protected area in which they live and also through the social and economic protection activities the NGOs undertake.

Value is created (Pathway 3) for NGOs in this partnership complex through receiving funding for their activities; holding influence at the local, state, federal and transnational levels; and being able to fulfil their missions. Value for the partnership donors and the different levels of the Brazilian government comes from achieving their goals for the partnership through the work of NGOs, rather than doing the work directly. In the protection of the Brazilian Amazon, our findings show that NGOs influence the broader system in which the partnership operates (Pathway 5), by noticing gaps and initiating new partnerships to fill them. The proliferation of partnerships described in this chapter would have been less likely and less effective without these NGOs. Finally, the communities in RDS Uatumã had suffered under the first wave of purely environmental protections in the 1980s. Motivated by grassroots movements, the partnerships we analyzed sought to include social and economic protections for the inhabitants, and NGOs have been central to mobilizing and implementing this expanded vision of sustainability.

This chapter, though, leaves some questions unanswered. First, power relations play an essential role where multiple actors operate in the same area. The creation of a Community Association to facilitate external representation, for example, is a very delicate process. Equally, while local communities are rendered visible to transnational partnerships, is it in terms dictated by the transnational, federal and state partnerships; not necessarily in terms that the communities would organize or recognize themselves. Future research could unpack how transnational partnerships and money flows create imbalances in existing relationships on the ground, creating novel actors with little social capital but vested with power through transnational partnership funding and processes. Second, further research could examine the extent to which goal attainment is served by the interactions between various policy instruments (market incentives, command-and-control policies, pedagogical approaches) that the different actors in Brazilian environmental governance put in place at the local level and how civil society relates to these other policy instruments. Finally, further research should build on the argument made here to assess whether activities by civil society actors across partnerships in other protected areas correlate with better environmental and social impacts at local and global levels.

Notes

- 1 Chapter 2 of this edited volume presents a detailed study of the Amazon Regional Protected Areas (ARPA) Partnership, which is also one of the partnerships relevant to the protected area we analyze in this chapter. While they undertook a detailed comparison of ARPA with two other regional cases (INBio and Galápagos Wind), we approach it differently. We take as our starting point the empirical case of one sustainable use reserve in which ARPA is embedded as one of many partners, to examine the pathways to local-level effectiveness of the complex of environmental partnerships and governance mechanisms in the Brazilian Amazon.

- 2 Protected areas designated as “integral protection” are largely aligned with IUCN category I-IV (IUCN 2016), which in the Brazilian context includes biological reserves, ecological stations or wildlife refuges for example. “Sustainable use protected areas” include IUCN categories V-VI (IUCN 2016), which in the Brazilian context includes sustainable development reserves (such as our case study RDS Uatumã), extractive reserves and national forests, among others.
- 3 State-level environmental agencies started to seek more participation in ARPA in 2004 and documents indicate that a MoU signaling the intention of letting them participate was signed that year. The exact year when funds started to be channeled to state-level protected areas is not clearly indicated in any document. It can be inferred, though, that this was between 2006 and 2008.
- 4 Interview with senior NGO staff, RDS Uatumã, March 2019.
- 5 Interview with senior NGO staff, Manaus, March 2019.
- 6 Petrobras is a listed corporation whose shares are owned mostly by the Brazilian Government.
- 7 Interview with senior NGO staff, RDS Uatumã, March 2019.
- 8 Interview with resident of RDS Uatumã, RDS Uatumã, March 2019.
- 9 What Cook, Smith and Utting (2012) call the “triple injustice” of green policies, as a corollary to the previous
- 10 Interview with senior NGO staff, Manaus, March 2019.
- 11 Interview with senior civil servant, Itapiranga, March 2019.
- 12 Interview with resident of RDS Uatumã, RDS Uatumã, March 2019.
- 13 Interview with senior NGO staff, Manaus, March 2019.
- 14 Interview with senior civil servant, RDS Uatumã, March 2019; Interview with senior NGO staff, RDS Uatumã, March 2019.
- 15 Interview with senior NGO staff, Manaus, April 2019.
- 16 These funds were also used in other protected areas where these NGOs operate.
- 17 Interview with NGO staff, RDS Uatumã, March 2019.
- 18 Interview with senior NGO staff, Rio de Janeiro, February 2019.
- 19 Interview with NGO staff, RDS Uatumã, March 2019.
- 20 Primary forests are forests that have grown to maturity without much human interference.
- 21 Interview with civil servant, RDS Uatumã, March 2019.
- 22 Interview with senior NGO staff, Manaus, March 2019.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Interview with senior NGO Staff, RDS Uatumã, March 2019.
- 25 Interview with NGO staff, Manaus, March 2019.
- 26 Interview with NGO staff, Manaus, March 2019.
- 27 The Brazilian Climate Forum is a multistakeholder body composed of civil society and government (including the president of Brazil). It is also legally recognized as one of the institutions responsible for implementing the Federal Climate Change Policy (Law 12187/2009).
- 28 This bilateral funding is different to ARPA funding, which relies more on a systematic and automated down flow of money to the state.

References

- Abers, Rebecca Neaera and Marília Silva de Oliveira. 2015. Nomeações Políticas no Ministério do Meio Ambiente (2003–2013): Interconexões entre ONGs, Partidos e Governos. *Opinião Pública*, 21:2, 336–364.
- Amazon Fund. 2021. Amazon Fund Project Portfolio. Available at <http://www.amazonfund.gov.br/en/carteira-de-projetos/>.
- Andonova, Liliana B. 2014. Boomerangs to Partnerships? Explaining State Participation in Transnational Partnerships for Sustainability. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47:3, 481–515.

- Andonova, Liliana B. 2017. *Governance Entrepreneurs: International Organizations and the Rise of Global Public-Private Partnerships*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beisheim, Marianne and Andrea Liese, eds. 2014. *Transnational Partnerships: Effectively Providing for Sustainable Development?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Borgatti, Stephen P., Martin G. Everett and Jeffrey C. Johnson. 2013. *Analysing Social Networks*. London: Sage.
- Cook, Sarah, Kiah Smith and Peter Utting. 2012. *Green Economy or Green Society? Contestation and Policies for a Fair Transition*. Occasional Paper No. 10. Geneva: UNRISD. Available at <http://www.unrisd.org/publications/op-cook-et-al>.
- Drummond, José, José Franco and Daniela Silva. 2010. Uma Análise sobre a História e a Situação das Unidades de Conservação no Brasil. *Conservação da Biodiversidade: Legislação e Políticas Públicas*. Brasília: Editora Câmara.
- FAS. 2017. Desenhando Arranjos Inovadores de Pagamentos por Serviços Ambientais. Available at <https://docplayer.com.br/81615804-Desenhando-arranjos-inovadores-de-pagamento-por-servicos-ambientais.html>.
- Fearnside, Phillip. 2017. Deforestation of the Brazilian Amazon. *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Environmental Science*. Available at <http://oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199389414.001.0001/acrefore-9780199389414-e-102>.
- Fearnside, Philip. 2019. Represas Hidroeléctricas en la Amazonia Brasileña: Impactos Ambientales y Sociales. *Revista de Estudios Brasileños*, 6:11, 123–138.
- GEF. 2018. ARPA. In Replenishment Meeting. Brasília, Brazil: Global Environmental Facility. Available at https://www.thegef.org/sites/default/files/publications/Arpa_GEF%202018_22.01.18-v2.pdf.
- Hecht, Susanna and Alexander Cockburn. 1990. *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders of the Amazon*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hochstetler, Kathryn and Margaret E. Keck. 2007. *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Instituto Socio Ambiental. 2022. Reserva de Desenvolvimento Sustentável do Uatumã. Available at <https://uc.socioambiental.org/arp/4244>.
- INPE. 2022. TerraBrasilis Prodes(Desmatamento). Available at http://terrabrasilis.dpi.inpe.br/app/dashboard/deforestation/biomes/legal_amazon/rates.
- IPAM. 2008. Considerações Iniciais Sobre o Fundo Amazônia. Available at <https://ipam.org.br/bibliotecas/consideracoes-iniciais-sobre-o-fundo-amazonia/>.
- IUCN. 2016. IUCN Protected Area Categories. Available at <https://www.iucn.org/theme/protected-areas/about/protected-area-categories>.
- MapBiomas Project. 2020. Collection 6 of the Annual Series of Land Use and Land Cover Maps of Brazil. Available at <https://plataforma.brasil.mapbiomas.org>. Accessed 1 April 2021.
- Marcovitch, Jacques and Vanessa C. Pinsky. 2019. Um Retrato da Amazônia Planetária. *Revista de Estudios Brasileños*, 6:11, 169–183.
- Ministerio do Meio Ambiente. 2021. National Register of Protected Areas. Available at <https://antigo.mma.gov.br/areas-protegidas/cadastro-nacional-de-ucs/dados-consolidados.html>.
- Neal, Zachary, Neal Jennifer Watling and Brian Brutzman. 2022. Defining Brokers, Intermediaries, and Boundary Spanners: A Systematic Review. *Evidence & Policy: A Journal of Research, Debate and Practice*, 18:3, 7–24. *Evidence and Policy*.
- Rajão, Raoni and Theo Vurdubakis. 2013. On the Pragmatics of Inscription: Detecting Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 30:4, 151–177.
- RDS Uatumã. 2009. RDS Uatumã Management Plan. Management Plan. Manaus, Amazonas: Governo do Estado do Amazonas. Available at <https://idesam.org/publicacao/plano-gestao-uatuma.pdf>.

- Márcio Santilli, Paulo Moutinho, Stephan Schwartzman, Daniel Nepstad, Lisa Curran, and Carlos Nobre. 2005. Tropical Deforestation and the Kyoto Protocol. *Climatic Change*, 71:3, 267–276.
- Secretaria do Meio Ambiente do Estado do Amazonas. 2018. Contato dos Gestores UC—SEMA—Secretaria de Estado do Meio Ambiente. Available at <http://meioambiente.am.gov.br/contato-gestores-uc/>.
- Small, Mario Luis. 2009. ‘How Many Cases do I Need?’: On Science and the Logic of Case Selection in Field-Based Research. *Ethnography*, 10:1, 5–38.
- Van Knippenberg, Daanand Michaéla C. Schippers. 2007. Work Group Diversity. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 58: 515–541.
- Westerwinter, Oliver. 2019. Transnational Public-Private Governance Initiatives in World Politics: Introducing a New Dataset. *The Review of International Organizations*, 16, 137–174.